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Engaging and marketing to stakeholders in World Heritage Site management: A United Kingdom multiple case study perspective

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Abstract

This research addresses the limited studies which apply stakeholder theory to World Heritage Site (WHS) management and managerial theory to heritage management. WHS management highlights a context where sites rely on numerous interests uniting through goodwill. This is intensified by the multiple ownership patterns which characterise many WHSs, necessitating a need for collective action. This study aims to explore how managers attempt to manage stakeholders and generate involvement and support. This study adopts a multiple case study approach, exploring three United Kingdom WHSs. Data was collected through interviews, documentation and physical artefacts. The analysis found that through representation, raising awareness and support, managers were able to generate stakeholder patronage. However, this required managers to look beyond informative engagement towards participatory means. Furthermore, the findings highlight the importance of the facilitators, time and money in successful stakeholder engagement. Lastly, conclusions, limitations and future research are offered.

Underpinned by stakeholder theory, this paper contributes to the understanding of stakeholder engagement within WHS management and adds to limited empirical studies on multiple sites. This investigation found that engagement is constrained by managers' limited time and resources. Furthermore, participatory engagement is essential in fostering stakeholders' responsibility for site management and developing relationships with managers.

Key Words:

World Heritage, World Heritage Site Management, Stakeholders, Stakeholder Engagement

Introduction

The necessity to manage and protect the world's most important historical sites has gained international attention, particularly through the establishment of World Heritage Sites (WHSs) (UNESCO, 2015a). Stemming from UNESCO's 1972 World Heritage Convention (WHC), a WHS is a place which is deemed to be of exceptional natural or cultural value to humanity. Central to their historical significance is that they are considered to be of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV). OUV is the term UNESCO uses to describe the attributes of a WHS that contributes to its international significance. Furthermore, OUV also presumes that, universally, humanity shares the aspiration and responsibility to conserve and protect global heritage (UNESCO, 2015b). On becoming a WHS it is the responsibility of the receiving nation to ensure its protection and adhere to the WHC, with most sites developing a management plan and suitable management approach (UNESCO, 2015b).

Research into WHS management emphasises the importance of conservation and the need for effective managerial approaches to ensure these places are protected, with many studies stressing the significance of stakeholder collaboration (Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005; Millar, 2006). A collaborative approach is also encouraged by UNESCO (2015b) who stress that nations are, 'encouraged to ensure the participation of a wide variety of stakeholders, including site managers, local and regional governments, local communities, non-governmental organizations and other interested parties and partners in...the protection of World Heritage properties.'

However, a collective approach is difficult due to numerous the organisations and multiple ownership patterns which characterise many WHSs and their management (Nicholas, Thapa, & Ko, 2009). Therefore, studies stress the complexities of stakeholder engagement and the conflicting agendas and tensions which render management problematic (Lefeuivre, 2007; Wager, 1995). Furthermore, research highlights the challenging relationship between site management and wider stakeholders such as building owners, businesses and local communities (da Cruz Vareiro, Remoaldo, & Ribeiro, 2012; Harrison, 2004b). However, stakeholders who are not involved or formally represented in site management structures play a vital role in WHS management. For example, they can provide or withhold resources such as time, capital, commitment and even properties (Garrod, Fyall, Leask, & Reid, 2011).

In order to engage stakeholders and to foster collectivity, studies within management and marketing emphasise the creation of collaborative environments supported by representation, relationship building, communication and team working (Aas et al., 2005; Yuksel, Bramwell, & Yuksel, 1999). However, few heritage management studies, or indeed managers, embrace theories from general management (Baxter, 2012), while the ones that do often focus on tourism development (Nicholas et al., 2009). Furthermore, there are limited studies which provide a comparative analysis over a number of WHSs, especially in the United Kingdom (UK), with the exception of Landorf (2009) who explored the relationship between sustainable development and heritage tourism. However, Landorf (2009) simply focused on the content analysis of site documentation.

Importantly, stakeholder engagement at WHSs has also been a growing challenge for practicing managers. For example, in the UK, World Heritage has no formal status in terms

of organisational administration and no additional financial assistance. Instead, protection is administered through individual designations and the planning systems of the relevant territory. Therefore, local authorities and public bodies are required to ensure that appropriate legal regulations are in place to protect WHSs from harm and inappropriate development. Given World Heritage's lack of formal status, site management is typically reliant on the goodwill of various stakeholders coming together, regularly in an amorphous fashion. In the UK, most sites function with an overarching managerial group comprised of various interests, however structure and participation differs between sites. For example, the Edinburgh's Old and New Towns WHS management group is made up of the City of Edinburgh Council, Edinburgh World Heritage and Historic Scotland. On the other hand, Hadrian's Wall WHS governance is provided by a management plan committee of over 40 representatives, ranging from academic interests to local authorities, farming and business representatives, and non-departmental public bodies such as English Heritage and Natural England. Given the multiple ownership patterns of many WHS in the UK, coupled with dense and complex stakeholder networks, effective collaboration and site management is both difficult and intricate for these managerial units (Bell, 2013).

Furthermore, with tempestuous economic climate over previous years, the heritage sector has been left victim to continual government funding cuts. One area which has suffered has been WHS management. For example, in 2010 Stonehenge had £10million of its public funding withdrawn (House of Commons, 2011), while in 2014 the Hadrian's Wall Trust (the charity that helped maintain and promote Hadrian's Wall) closed due to cuts from English Heritage and local authorities (BBC News, 2014). Given that site stakeholders are potential suppliers of resources such as money, time, commitment and even properties,

developing engagement and marketing strategies to enhance their involvement has never been more important.

Given these challenges, through a multiple case study approach, this research aims to add to the limited quantity of investigations which apply stakeholder theory to the context of WHS management and offer potential insight for industry practitioners. As such, the purpose of this research is to explore how heritage managers administer and attempt to generate stakeholder support and the extent of their success. The remainder of the paper is organised as follows: the subsequent sections will outline the literature on stakeholder theory and stakeholders in WHS management. This will be followed by a discussion on methodology. The findings and discussion are then presented, followed by some concluding remarks and managerial implications. Lastly, limitations and suggestions for future research are offered.

Literature review

Stakeholder engagement

The following section provides a general overview of stakeholder engagement and its current application within managerial and marketing research. Stakeholder engagement has become one of the most researched perspectives within managerial literature (Freeman, 1984; Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997). Stakeholders often hold varying amount of power within their relationships with organisations (Friedman & Miles, 2002). Particularly, they can supply or retract resources which organisations rely upon such as commitment, time, money and property (Braganza, Stebbings, & Ngosi, 2013). Therefore, they can have an influential impact on the functioning of an organisation and its performance (Sharma &

Henriques, 2005). In response, the theory stresses the need for organisations to manage these various interests through stakeholder engagement.

Inclusiveness and comprehensiveness lie at the core of stakeholder engagement (Donaldson & Preston, 1995). However, given the myriad of interests that characterise organisations, balancing stakeholders is a byzantine process due to diverse and often conflicting concerns (Garriga, 2014). Indeed, stakeholders can impact on an organisation's reputation and functionality through coalitions, boycotts, legislation and word-of-mouth (Dickinson-Delaporte, Beverland, & Lindgreen, 2010; Fry & Polonsky, 2004). In response, careful planning, negotiation, inclusion and compromise are required when attempting to engage in stakeholder relations (Bendheim, Waddock, & Graves, 1998). Nevertheless, others argue that resource ownership and disparate levels of saliency constrain the balancing of stakeholders (Lamin & Zaheer, 2012; Reynolds, Schultz, & Hekman, 2006). Therefore, considering stakeholder interests is vital for managers (Rasche, 2012), with studies highlighting the potency of engagement strategies as a means of managing them (Gardberg & Newbury, 2013; Schnackenberg & Tomlinson, 2014).

Businesses are dependent on communication in engaging with stakeholders (Bhattacharya & Sen, 2003; Steyn, 2004). Typically through mediums such as experiences, images, stories and concepts (Siano, Vollero, Confetto, & Siglioccolo, 2013; Stuart & Kerr, 1999), communications should focus on fostering favourable stakeholder relations in order to augment their organisation's objectives, vision and reputation (Abratt & Kleyn, 2012; Hatch & Schultz, 1997; Srivoravilai, Melewar, Liu, & Yannopoulou, 2011). Consequently, managers can embrace reputation/impression management to engage stakeholders (Carter, 2006; Puncheva, 2008). Usually, such information is distributed through advertising,

strategic documentation, and social media (Jones, Temperley, & Lima, 2009; Keller, 2001). Others also highlight the importance of company websites to dispense information regarding mission, objectives, ethics and actions (Esrock & Leichty, 2000; Jones et al., 2009). These approaches are significant in developing organisational understanding and transparency through the availability of accurate and meaningful information (David, 2001; Pirson & Malhotra, 2011), encouraging heightened stakeholder support for managerial policies and actions (Gregory, 2007; Weber & Marley, 2012).

Stakeholder events are also used to stimulate a shared understanding of an organisation’s objectives and action (Driessen, Kok, & Hillebrand, 2013; Perez-Batres, Doh, Miller, & Pisani, 2012). However, this is challenging due to the complexity of conveying messages to multiple stakeholders (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001; Schlegelmilch & Pollach, 2005). For example, while the organisation may be effective in reaching one stakeholder group, others may misinterpret or derive a different understanding from the same message (Paul, 2015). McVea and Freeman (2005) support this arguing that stakeholder theory focuses too much on stakeholder roles rather than relationships with people with names and faces. Resultantly, given that different stakeholders merit equal identification as human beings, relationships should be humanised with commitment to giving them names and faces (McVea and Freeman, 2005). Furthermore, companies’ actions must complement the communications, as their decisions and actions can counter the positive image projected by them (De Chernatony, 1999).

Going beyond one way communications, others necessitate relationship building and reciprocal engagement (Gregory, 2007). Therefore, engagement should focus on relationships built upon integrity, trust and mutual appreciation (Pirson & Malhotra, 2011;

Ulmer & Sellnow, 2000). Furthermore, bequeathing stakeholders with more responsibility and decorum is more likely to nurture their support and contribution to organisational policies (Wicks & Harrison, 2013; Zattoni, 2011). For example, giving stakeholders a voice in decision-making processes promotes such relationships (Caton & Santos, 2007; Husted, 1998). Other strategies to enhance stakeholder patronage include: heightened participation, coherent policies, a tolerance of differing locales, open communication, and a history of trustworthiness (Anand & Rosen, 2008; Butterfield, Reed, & Lemak, 2004). This can also be linked to ethical leadership, which suggests that managers can garner stakeholder support and trust by honouring relationships and treating multiple interests legitimately and equitably (Caldwell, Karri, & Vollmar, 2006; Hernandez, 2008).

Representation as a means of building stakeholder relationships and legitimising their interests is essential (Luoma and Goodstein, 1999; Moriarty, 2012). Polonsky and Ottman (1998) indicate that formal interaction and cooperative approaches to stakeholder engagement can ensure that the objectives of the organisation and its stakeholders are attained. However, distrust can act as a barrier to such formal interactions being embraced. This is supported by others who found that embracing collaborative mechanisms and upholding stakeholder relationships based on trust will gain a competitive advantage over organisations that do not, or organisations that base their unions on self-interest (Jones, 1995; Schnackenberg & Tomlinson, 2014). Philanthropy or providing support through goodwill can also foster stakeholder patronage (Jia & Zhang, 2014, McAlister & Ferrell, 2002). For example, Haley (1991, p. 502) indicates that, 'contributions tell stories, emphasize points, and display morals to stakeholders', and can be used as a mechanism to ease potential stakeholder malpractice (Godfrey, 2005). Additionally, charitable contributions have also been associated with heightened organisational performance (Wang

& Qian, 2011). However, related research warns of the risks of charitable support, highlighting the agency and direct costs that occur in the long-term (Wang, Choi, & Li, 2008).

What stakeholder theory expands is the overriding necessity for managers and organisations to look outside the internal workings of their firm towards the demands and interests from the external environment (Donaldson & Preston, 1995). Provided that stakeholders can have an influential role over the functioning and performance of an organisation, awareness and strategies to appease and generate support from these external interests is important (Polonsky and Ottman, 1998). One area of research which has witnessed an intense debate surrounding stakeholders is in WHS management. The following section will highlight some of the main debates within this theme.

Stakeholders in World Heritage Site management

The engagement of stakeholders in heritage management has been an important issue for both academics and practitioners. Particularly, complexities concerning stakeholders within WHS management have been widely discussed (Landorf, 2009; Su & Wall, 2012). This research often focusses on the necessity for site managers to administer and involve different interests ranging from: public and private bodies, businesses, local communities, private building owners and tourists (Haddad, Waheeb, & Fakhoury, 2009; Millar, 1989). However, the task is difficult due to their differing agendas, roles and motivations (Harrison, 2004a, 2004b; Harrison & Hitchcock, 2005). Furthermore, given that WHSs are typically characterised by large myriad stakeholders bases, some of which privately own assets, managers often face the challenge of administering places which they hold varying degrees of legitimacy (Aas et al., 2005).

Consequently, studies have emphasised the precarious nature of stakeholder relationships in WHS management (Bell, 2013; Wager, 1995). For instance, Haddad et al. (2009) indicate that WHSs can be consumed with negativity when local community involvement is minimal and there is a lack of cooperation between stakeholders. Regardless of these difficulties, stakeholder involvement and collaboration is fundamental to site management (Nicholas et al., 2009; Willis, 2009). For example, it is crucial in generating support, the pooling of resources, donations and volunteer help, and positive tourism development (Aas et al., 2005; Garrod et al., 2011). Given that many heritage sites are consumed with financial uncertainty (Silberberg, 1995), these benefits are vital for managers. For example, in the UK dwindling subsidies from the public sector has resulted in cuts to the heritage sector (BBC News, 2014).

Studies have identified strategies which managers can embrace in order to encourage collaborative environments which stimulate amicable relationships and conservational attitudes (Chiabai, Paskaleva, & Lombardi, 2011). These include: distinguishing and involving all potential stakeholders (González & Medina, 2003; The Heritage Lottery Fund, 2010), stakeholder representation within decision-making processes (Evans, 2002; Hitchcock, 2002; Xu and Dai, 2012), and open communication (Aas et al., 2005). Others promote the development of areas where views concerning site issues can be freely exchanged. For example, despite being under-utilised, Chiabai et al. (2011) and Lask and Herold (2004) both promote the creation of e-participation zones where site stakeholders can openly discuss ideas and concerns regarding how best to manage the site, allowing for more democratic decision-making and planning. Furthermore, Bell (2013) argues that site documentation, such as management plans, can offer a podium from which

to promote stakeholder collaboration. Despite this, Bell (2013) highlights that diverging interests can act as a barrier to collaboration.

Given the importance stakeholder place on the social meaning of heritage (The Heritage Lottery Fund, 2010), studies also propose the usefulness of events which encourage stakeholder participation. For example, McDonald (2011) argues that, once personally attached, individuals develop an enduring interest in conserving and protecting what is significant to them. Therefore, events and festivals could assist people in becoming more personally attached to their heritage, resulting in heightened public involvement (McDonald, 2011). Indeed, studies have also demonstrated and stressed the importance of heritage as means of enriching peoples' lives through tackling societal problems and enhancing the lives of vulnerable people (The Heritage Lottery Fund, 2015).

In exploring the challenges of stakeholders in WHS management a number of studies have embraced stakeholder theory. This includes: Chiabai et al. (2011) examining cultural tourism management and tourism, Nicholas et al. (2009) to investigate local community support for the Pitons Management Area as a WHS and tourism, Garrod et al. (2011) to explore the intensions and practices of local community engagement at Scottish tourism attractions, and Aas et al. (2005) to study the relationships between locals, heritage managers and tourism at Luang Prabang. These authors imply that conditions that foster inclusion, collaboration and empowerment in site management should be created in order to encourage an environment where shared decision-making and shared understandings ensue (Aas et al., 2005; Nicholas et al., 2009). For example, Garrod et al. (2011) found that approaches to engaging communities focused more on appeasing them through informative participation, rather than allowing them to have a role in decision-making processes.

Overall, these studies argue that collective environments must be developed so that different stakeholder interests can work together to better protect heritage through trust, communal accountability, and mutual relationships (Bell, 2013; Nicholas et al., 2009).

Despite these proposed strategies, there are challenges which create barriers to collaborative environments becoming apparent. For example, Yuksel and Yuksel (2008) found that clientelism discourages stakeholder participation. Therefore, if stakeholders perceive public organisations' actions to be negative or unfair, and so damaging its legitimacy and credibility, support and participation for its activities and planning are often lost. Therefore, administrative bodies must consider community concerns and perceptions of equity in decision-making and planning (Erdogan & Tosun, 2009). Furthermore, stakeholder involvement and collaboration is problematic due to: conflicting interests (Bender & Edmonds, 1992; van der Aa, Groote, & Huigen, 2004), power being held by the few elites (Harrison, 2004b), groups being overlooked and not immersed into decision-making processes and barriers to participation (Haddad et al., 2009; Wager, 1995). Additionally, even when stakeholders are involved success is not always certain. For instance, van der Aa et al. (2004) argue that even if stakeholders identify the benefits of conserving heritage, if they do not see any personal benefits they will often lose interest in World Heritage issues or become disengaged with management.

While stakeholders at WHSs have been the centre of academic attention, little attention has been placed on applying managerial theory to the context of heritage management (Baxter, 2012). Due to the severely limited amount of studies which apply stakeholder theory to the context of WHS management, and the pressures facing heritage managers in an ever increasing tempestuous economic climate, the present research will

explore how heritage managers administer and attempt to generate stakeholder support from those stakeholders outside the management approach to their site, and the extent of their success. Although research has used stakeholder theory in the past, these studies have focused principally on the relationship of tourism and local community involvement. Therefore, a more holistic study is proposed, using stakeholder theory to focus on the general management of WHSs rather than through the lens of tourism. To do this a multiple case study approach will be employed, exploring three UK WHS's. The following section will outline this study's chosen methodological approach.

Methodology

Currently, there are 1031 WHSs, with 29 in the UK. Consequently, it would be impractical to justify a study into one isolated site, and therefore, a multiple-case research design was employed (Stake, 1995). Multiple case studies have become increasingly popular within management and marketing research (Falay, Salimäki, Ainamo, & Gabrielsson, 2007; Helfen & Sydow, 2013). The choice of a multiple case approach was grounded in its proposed benefits. This includes the acceptance that case research is more effective when multiple, rather than single, cases are explored (Merriam, 1998), and that they are an ideal approach in developing contributions to inadequately understood knowledge (Stake, 1995).

As this study aims to investigate the limited use of stakeholder theory within WHS management, a multiple case approach seems most appropriate in order to unearth more understanding of the phenomenon in question. Multiple case researchers will often use between three and twelve cases (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Swan & Scarbrough, 2005), with selection based on the 'opportunity to learn' (Stake, 1995). Therefore, case selection was based on what would help enlighten the focus of the investigation. Due to the high

number of WHSs, this study chose to concentrate on UK sites. Secondly, sites were selected based on ownership structure as places under sole proprietorship would have less significance to the proposed research. Therefore, sites which are characterised by multiple ownership patterns were selected. In the UK, there are numerous WHSs that are characterized by multiple ownership patterns. Examples include: Hadrian's Wall, the City of Bath, Ironbridge Gorge, Edinburgh's Old and New Towns, the Derwent Valley Mills, and the Antonine Wall. Initially, the author contacted potential interviewees from a number of UK WHSs. Ultimately, site selection was grounded in the willingness and level of participation from managers across potential sites. Overviews of the selected WHSs are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Case study sites description

Site	Description
Edinburgh's Old and New Towns	This site was inscribed as a WHS due to its refection of noteworthy changes in urban planning in Europe. The site's OUV lies in its juxtaposition of two historical areas: the Old and New Towns. The divergence between the organic medieval Old Town and the planned Georgian New Town presents a transparent urban structure which is unrivalled throughout Europe. Over 75% of the site's buildings are listed for the architectural or historic importance, while it is also home to 25,000 residents as well as numerous businesses and public and private organisations. The WHS is managed by a partnership consisting of Historic Scotland, the City of Edinburgh Council and Edinburgh World Heritage (EWH). EWH is a private charitable body (funding from donations, Edinburgh City Council and Historic Scotland) which is responsible for the implementing of the management plan and the work of the WHS steering group. Made up of professionals with differing expertise, this organisation operates at arms-length from the public sector.
The Antonine Wall	Listed in 2008 as part of the 'The Frontiers of the Roman Empire' WHS, the Antonine Wall was erected over 2000 years ago on the orders of Emperor Antoninus Pius. The OUV of the site is not only reflective of its representation of human creativity, but also in its historical

importance to the interchange of human values and its rare testament to a faded civilisation and culture. Today, much of the site has been lost to time, built developments and farming. However, spots are still visible, for example, at Rough Castle and the Bearsden Bath House. Furthermore, the site encompasses multiple ownership patterns and is characterised by numerous communities, businesses, public and private organisations, and farmland. The site is managed by a group consisting of Historic Scotland, East Dunbartonshire Council, North Lanarkshire Council, Falkirk Council, Glasgow City Council, and West Dunbartonshire Council. The site is reliant on a sole WHS Coordinator supplied by Historic Scotland.

The Derwent Valley Mills A WHS since 2001, this site contains a series of eighteenth and nineteenth century cotton mills and an industrial landscape of historical significance. Home to the famous Arkwright System, the site's OUV stems from being the birth place of the factory system and the first modern industrial settlement. Today, spanning 24km, the mills and the majority of the workers homes are intact and illustrate the areas socio-economic development. There are over 800 listed buildings within the WHS. The site is also home to thousands of residents, businesses and public/private organisations. Site management is shared by a number of local authorities and government bodies. The coordination of these interests is provided through a Board and Partnership Forum containing various site

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stakeholders. The site also has a dedicated WHS team funded by Derbyshire Council. This includes: a director, coordinator, learning and events coordinator, development coordinator, and a business service assistant.

For Peer Review Only

As emphasised previously, WHSs are administered by distinctive arrangements, with their overarching management typically consisting of various groups with differing interests and remits coming together through goodwill and meeting on an intermittent basis. Therefore, clarity in what is meant by heritage managers requires comment. In regards to this study, heritage managers are defined as being those individuals who have a formal role within the WHS management group. These individuals are representatives of the entities which are outlined in Table 1.

An advantage of case study research is that it often embraces the use of multiple sources of evidence (Yin, 2009). Given the qualitative nature of this study, data was collected through three avenues: semi-structured interviews, documentation, and psychical artefacts. Semi-structured interviews were the primary source of evidence in this study. Noted for their flexibility, they are ideal for gathering large amount of qualitative data, often through encouraging the interviewee to go beyond simple answers and even discuss areas of interest which were unplanned (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, & Jackson, 2012).

As WHS management structures often encompasses different organisations and interests, the openness and flexible nature of semi-structured interviews seems beneficial in uncovering the complexities and nature of the phenomenon through the views of differing managers. Therefore, this approach, through managers going beyond simple responses, would hopefully permit the collection of multiple-perspectives across the different sites. Interview data was gathered over a period of five months across the three sites. Interviewees were recruited through judgmental sampling (Panneerselvam, 2004). The logic behind this sampling approach is its ability to select the most appropriate individuals for the research (Herbst & Coldwell, 2004). As such, key administrative figures in each sites WHS management approach were identified and contacted for a possible interview. Identification

was facilitated through site documentation and through online mediums, with a total of 30 interviews conducted. An interview guide was used to ensure that relevant information was collected (King, 2004a). The questions in this guide were devised through the information presented in the literature review. After each interview, each interviewee was offered to inspect the interpretations of their responses. Known as member checking, this process is seen as an effective way to provide accuracy and validity of the study's findings (Anand, Gardner, & Morris, 2007).

Documents were also a main source of evidence. This included the management plans and strategic documentation of each WHS. Access to this documentation was unproblematic as each WHS make them publically available on their respected website. These websites also offered access to news feeds which highlighted past site specific news and future events. These documents also provided detailed contextual information that helped illuminate the process and structures of the study's context (Mattarelli & Tagliaventi, 2012). Physical artefacts, or tangible evidence, were also used to inform the research process (Oliver & Roos, 2007). In this study, photographs taken at the case sites were used to support the narrative and supplement the evidence collected from the other methods.

In terms of data analysis, this study followed the basic expectations of multiple case research - within-case case investigation followed by cross-case examination (Eisenhardt, 1989). In analysing the collected information, an inductive approach known as template analysis was embraced (Crabtree & Miller, 1999). In this approach codes are firstly identified 'a priori', extracted from the literature and refer to particular themes which characterise a theory or area of interest. This provides the researcher with a reasonably clear direction to follow when structuring the examination of the collected evidence and its presentation

(Silverman, 2005). Template analysis also allows codes to be included 'a posteriori', meaning themes can be reformed or other integrated as they emerge from the analysis of the data (King, 2004b). The a priori themes which guided this study include: representation, raising awareness, support, and the influence of engagement. These themes were derived from the literature review on stakeholder theory presented in this paper and underline some of the fundamental approaches that managers use to engage prospective stakeholders. The analysis of current studies on stakeholders in WHS management also emphasised the potency of these themes. Additional themes, which emerged from the data, were also added as the research developed. These were identified as the facilitators, time and resources. Using these themes as a structure, the following section will present the findings and discussion of this study.

Case studies

Representation and raising awareness

Across the sites, representation and raising awareness are essential ingredients in submerging stakeholder interests into organisational decision-making, notably through document consultation on their management plans¹. As one Antonine Wall manager highlights, *'it's community led...we're trying to deliver and look after the Wall from the bottom up.'* Furthermore, one Derwent manager indicates, *'you are doing something on the ground rather than just sitting in an office saying, "Well, this is the policy. Go away and read it", you're empowering people to decide what they think is important.'* This confers with

¹ Edinburgh World Heritage Steering Group (2012) *The Old and New Towns of Edinburgh World Heritage Site: Management Plan 2011-2016*, Edinburgh World Heritage Steering Group, Edinburgh. Derwent Valley Mills Partnership (2002) *DVMWHS Management Plan 2002-2007*, Derwent Valley Mills Partnership, Derbyshire, Historic Scotland (2007, p.64) *The AW Nomination and Management Plan 2007-2012*, Historic Scotland, Edinburgh

existing studies on stakeholder theory that argues that managers must embrace collaborative mechanisms which enable dialogue between themselves and stakeholders (Anand & Rosen, 2008; Gregory, 2007). Such collaboration enables site management characterised through compromise and negotiation (Harrison, 2004b; Nicholas et al., 2009).

While representation is acknowledged as important, managers raised concerns over consultative mechanisms, highlighting limited community ownership and trust. As one Antonine Wall manager states, *'there's a real lack of engagement. The management approach has no community reps...there needs to be a more effective mechanism or they will just lose interest.'* Additionally, one Edinburgh manager suggests a lack of faith in the process emphasising that, *'sometimes a lot of results of these consultations go down the back of a sofa and nothing actually happens and that's where the trust is lost.'* These apprehensions resonate with the view that stakeholders will lack confidence to participate and avoid engagement if they sense that their views are overlooked (Jones, 1995; Yuksel & Yuksel, 2008). However, such concerns should seem expected given that Edinburgh managers admit that the conclusions of some consultation processes are disregarded, highlighting levels of clientelism in planning (Erdogan & Tosun, 2009).

For heritage sites to be managed effectively, excretion should be made to encompass all relevant stakeholders in planning and decision-making (González & Medina, 2003). However, the Antonine and Edinburgh cases emphasised limited levels of wider stakeholder representation, highlighting a lost opportunity. For example, Landorf (2009) indicates that, beyond draft stages of strategic documentation, a lack of grassroots involvement of stakeholders in management is a wasted opening. Interestingly, at the Antonine Wall wider stakeholder inclusion was surprisingly undesirable among some

managers who believed that representation in the formal management structure should be based on perceived responsibility. As one manager argued, *'they don't need to be on there [management structure] because they don't have any responsibilities for the Wall's management'*. Undesirably, this emphasises a common problem in stakeholder theory and WHS management where support diminishes in the face of planning and decision-making being isolated to an influential few – typically government officials (Harrison, 2004a; Zattoni, 2011).

At the Derwent Valley, representation has been developed and goes beyond simple consultation to also include informal cluster groups containing local residents, business and interest groups. These clusters allow wider stakeholders to have a voice and to exchange ideas on site management, while the processes allow managers to raise conciseness the historical significance of the site. As one manager highlights, *'lots of the interests engage in the cluster groups ...and those people are really enthusiastic because they feel involved and that they're making a difference.'* These clusters have had some success, for example creating the WHS's ambassador scheme². The importance of this finding reinforces other studies which also promote the immersion of stakeholders into more site management activities (Caton & Santos, 2007; Xu & Dai, 2012), and creating areas where managers and interests interact to debate concerns freely (Anand & Rosen, 2008; Gregory, 2007).

Through these forms of representation managers have also been able to raise stakeholder awareness to their historical surroundings. For example, raising awareness of each site's WHS status and OUV is at the heart of the sites management plans and their

² The 'Belper Ambassador Training Scheme' encompassed business owners and their employees completing a two hour guided walk of their local town, educating them about the WHS and where local amenities and family activities could be located. Those who took part received a Derwent Valley WHS vinyl for their shop window, specifying they were visitor friendly.

consultative processes³. Indeed, stakeholder research highlights the magnitude of employing strategies to elevate awareness and support (Abratt & Kleyn, 2012; Keller, 2001, Weber & Marley, 2012). Across the cases various other strategies have been implemented to build awareness and enhance the reputation of the site and its management. Research highlights the necessity for organisations to embrace multiple forms of engagement strategies in order to reinforce their actions and generate validation of their mission and values (Gardberg & Newburry, 2013; Srivoravilai et al., 2011). Table 1 provides an overview of engagement strategies used by each site.

³ Derwent Valley Mills Partnership (2013) *DVMWHS Management Plan 2013-2018*, Derwent Valley Mills Partnership, Derbyshire. Edinburgh World Heritage Steering Group (2012) *The Old and New Towns of Edinburgh World Heritage Site: Management Plan 2011-2016*, Edinburgh World Heritage Steering Group, Edinburgh. Historic Scotland (2007) *The AW Nomination and Management Plan 2007-2012*, Historic Scotland, Edinburgh

Table 2 Engagement strategies employed across the WHSs

Strategies	Site
Online	All the sites have a webpage dedicated to providing information
Presence	concerning: management and contacts, latest news feeds, access to documentation, links to attractions, and events calendars. Unlike the Antonine Wall, both the Edinburgh and Derwent sites have a social media presence on Facebook and Twitter.
Events	All three sites have organised events which promote their WHSs. For example, all three organise a range of activities for Discovery Days events, including access to often inaccessible buildings, tours, talks, and exhibitions.
Community projects	Unlike the Antonine Wall, the Edinburgh and Derwent sites organise many projects which engage with stakeholders. For example, EWH has organised projects which involve community mapping and workshops for building owners on issues such as energy efficiency. Likewise, the Derwent site undertakes ventures such as the 2012 'Thread's' project. This project was organised for older generations to work with local children on a visual arts venture.
Publications	The Edinburgh and Derwent sites both publish various forms of media to highlight site activities, achievements and undertakings by the management group. This includes: monthly journals and newsletters, annual reports, latest news feeds, and notes from WHS staff.
Branded	The Derwent Valley and Antonine Wall have both developed branded

signage	signage across their sites. Furthermore, all three sites have a distinct logo which is encouraged to be used throughout their sites.
Educational materials	All sites have developed learning materials, especially for schoolchildren and have organised events which engage and educate younger generations about their WHS. For example: World Heritage Skills Taster Sessions (Edinburgh), local school presentations (Derwent), familiarisation trips (Antonine).

Managers indicate that the strategies highlighted in Table 2 are vital in publicising and building an understanding of their site and reinforcing WHS status (Hatch & Schultz, 1997; McDonald, 2011). As one manager stated, *'you need to capture people's attention, we need them to be involved and that's what these strategies do...they can provide help and money and that's key...so their support and cooperation is essential.'* Across the sites, managers agreed about the usefulness of their engagement strategies. Commenting on the value of branded signage (see Figure 1a), a Derwent manager argues that, *'people see the logo, recognise they are in a WHS...it's important because it validates what we do. It can inspire potential volunteers and contributors.'*

Figure 1 Example of Derwent Valley Mills branded signage (Taken by author)



Another manager stresses the importance of community based events highlighting that, *'it's about getting people together in groups, making friends, and seeing each other at different events. They are getting together, working together, being more involved.'* Specifically, the need to communicate and build awareness throughout WHS stakeholder networks is recognised to be essential in generating community and business support (Lask & Herold, 2004; Puncheva, 2008), especially when some are oblivious to the historical potency of their surroundings. One avenue in which community and business involvement and awareness is encouraged is through levels of stakeholder support.

Support

According to perspectives on stakeholder theory, offering support as a means of engagement is essential (Jia & Zhang, 2014). Given that the WHSs in this study encompass diverse interests and that many of their buildings and land are under private ownership, this is significant. Across the WHSs support for stakeholders is apparent and comes in various forms, however is more evident at the Edinburgh and Derwent sites.

At Edinburgh, support is offered through their conservation funding programme which offers financial assistance to private, business and public owners to help protect and maintain their buildings; as well as business support through the production of a World Heritage Business Opportunities Guide. Support is also provided through publications and workshops which offer home owners guidance on building maintenance in the areas of ironmongery, paintwork and roofs.⁴ Other supportive projects include community based ventures which give residents a leading role in site management. For example, this includes

⁴ Edinburgh World Heritage Steering Group (2012) *The Old and New Towns of Edinburgh World Heritage Site: Management Plan 2011-2016*, Edinburgh World Heritage steering group, Edinburgh

Granny's Green and the Graveyards Projects⁵. This often results in collaborative partnerships which include many commercial, public, private charitable and community organisations. One manager emphasises the value of support suggesting, *'we can't do any project without buy-in from the community...that's why support is essential. Everything that we do is done as a result of collaboration.'* Furthermore, projects also entail additional benefits such as: work experience for the unemployed, sustaining traditional building skills, and reducing vandalism and crime through increased footfall in once publically avoided areas.

At Derwent, support is equally important. As one manager stated, *'you can lead the horse to water but you can't necessarily make them appreciate what's on their doorstep...project working is one way in which we can do this.'* Along with potential funding for building owners, managers highlight the support for local businesses such as website and podcasting training for Mill employees.⁶ Another initiative aimed at creating 'WHS volunteers' rather than being dedicated to a particular place, for example the Cromford Mills. Through familiarisation trips and training, volunteers across the WHS were educated on the site's historical significance, encouraging them to volunteer in other parts. One manager highlighted the merit of this, arguing that, *'it gives them personal responsibility for the whole site and when you see the sort of incredible job they've done, its testament to the dedication of those people.'* Another manager stresses the social implications of the project:

⁵ Granny's Green: With the support of EWH and ECC and a £25,000 grant, the Patrick Geddes Gardening Club converted an old disused space in the Grassmarket (Granny's Green) into an active community space and garden. Graveyards Projects: Through community leadership this projects aimed to increase footfall and awareness of Edinburgh's graveyards. Supported by EWH and ECC, these graveyards are to be community led and managed.

⁶ Derwent Valley Mills Partnership (2013) *DVMWHS Management Plan 2013-2018*, Derwent Valley Mills Partnership, Derbyshire

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3 *'It's sociable...even though the project is finished we meet every two or three months and we*
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5 *go for some food afterwards'.*
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9 Support, whether it is financial or informative, is implied to be an effective approach
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11 in developing stakeholder support (McAlister & Ferrell, 2002), highlighting both the moral
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13 and responsible nature of the organisation. Furthermore, these findings also support other
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15 studies which argue that WHS management is dependent on local communities and wider
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17 interests receiving the necessary support in order to benefit from WHS status (Harrison &
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19 Hitchcock, 2005). Significantly, Edinburgh and Derwent managers stress the collaborative
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21 nature of these endeavours, as well as the economic and social benefits such as: work
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23 experience for the unemployed, maintaining traditional skills and reducing vandalism. This is
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25 supported by similar research which argues that stakeholder support at WHSs can be
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27 heightened if they perceive the benefits of listing and how it can positively contribute to
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29 their lives (Hampton, 2005).
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36 These supportive mechanisms are also vital in augmenting stakeholder involvement,
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38 representation and awareness across the sites. Importantly, both the Edinburgh and
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40 Derwent sites highlight forms of engagement which go beyond a single point of contact to
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42 incorporate a more enduring form of engagement. This is highlighted in Edinburgh's
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44 community projects (such as the Graveyards and Granny's Green projects) and at the
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46 Derwent Valley, where continual engagement is embraced through informal congregations
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48 after events have ended. Edinburgh's projects also highlight managers encouraging
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50 community stakeholders to take personal responsibility for their surroundings. These
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52 approaches highlight how mechanisms which encourage stakeholder responsibility for
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54 elements of site management and continual interaction are vital in building meaningful
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relationships with stakeholders (Caton & Santos, 2007; Heugens, van den Bosch, & van Riel, 2002).

Influence of engagement

Across the sites, especially Edinburgh and Derwent, engagement strategies have resulted in numerous benefits. Firstly, managers have formed relationships based on trust with stakeholders. As one Edinburgh manager states, *'We have done so many projects now that people trust us. If the trust lasts then so does their propensity to act in a responsible way.'* One Derwent manager also indicates: *'We've managed to build relationships and trust with them. Even after projects are done we have people calling us and wanting to help.'* Some of these relationships are also based on friendship. For example, one manager states, *'Through working on the ground you speak to different people, and there is a lot of friendship there....It has been built over the years.'* Site managers also highlight how stakeholders have become more conservational minded. As one Edinburgh manager argues, *'Being involved in a specific project which has an outcome...people see the difference they have made. It makes them more connected to their heritage.'*

These findings support stakeholder theory research which suggests that managers must embrace fairness in decision-making and that to not to do so would diminish the opportunity for sustainable stakeholder relationships (Bridoux & Stoelhorst, 2013). Closely related to trust, these managers have also highlighted that personal and affective relationships have been nurtured with stakeholders. Relationship building is an important element of stakeholder engagement (Jones, 1995), and is pivotal in fostering stakeholder backing (Wicks & Harrison, 2013). Significantly, Edinburgh and Derwent managers both stress the importance of reinforcing relationships through events and informal meetings to

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3 ensure that unions are not lost and instead built upon. As one manager highlights: *'They get*
4 *invited to our events. You initially start off with peoples own kind of self-interest but then by*
5 *working with us you become part of our network and the bigger picture begins to emerge*
6 *and it really does reinforce with people.'* The importance of reinforcing personal
7 relationships, and the significance of friendships, emphasises significant theoretical calls to
8 examine stakeholders as humans rather than concepts (McVea & Freeman, 2005). For
9 example, research has suggested that stakeholders as people with 'faces and feelings' are
10 often overlooked and that more focus must be placed on humanising the process, as is
11 demonstrative through the focus on intimate relationships in the Edinburgh and Derwent
12 cases (McVea & Freeman, 2005).
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27 Both the Edinburgh and Derwent cases also highlight how through engagement the
28 concept of 'World Heritage' has been more appreciated. For example, managers have seen
29 businesses become more engaged with World Heritage, with many incorporating the site
30 logo on their webpages. As one managers states, *'the World Heritage bit will be something*
31 *they pick up as part of the process...creating that network is essential and it means people*
32 *interact with you and support the whole idea of World Heritage.'* Both Evans (2004) and
33 Jimura (2011) imply that identification with World Heritage and a sites historical potency
34 can be an influential factor in elevating stakeholder patronage.
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47 Vitally, the Edinburgh and Derwent environments are also supported by the
48 informative mechanisms such as social media, publications and latest news through their
49 respective websites. This information dissemination is important as organisations must
50 support their actions and strategies through information availability as a means of
51 augmenting transparency, trust and ultimately support (David, 2001; Driessen et al., 2013).
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3 In Edinburgh, engagement through project working is commented on to have healed
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5 once fractured relationships with stakeholders. For example, the Granny's Green project
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7 resulted in local communities and ECC working together in a more congruous way. As one
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9 manager stresses, *'it showed the Council that the community were actually genuinely*
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11 *interested, and it showed those people that the Council would listen. It's brought the*
12
13 *community and the Council closer together.'* Therefore, the findings highlights that such
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15 commitment has been developed through participatory engagement, beyond that of
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17 informative or consultative means (Schnackenberg & Tomlinson, 2014; Zattoni, 2011).
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19 Previous studies stress that stakeholders are more likely to have respect and consideration
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21 for an organisation's endeavours, and to be supportive of their mission, if they have an
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23 active role in its administration (Butterfield et al., 2004; Hampton, 2005). The strategies
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25 employed by the Edinburgh and Derwent's sites both contribute to this becoming a reality,
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27 encouraged through approaches which allow for stakeholder immersion into their sites
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29 managerial environments as active participants.
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37 Managers in Edinburgh and Derwent claim this commitment and trust has
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39 contributed to the donation of money and time to site endeavours, and offering assistance.
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41 For example one Edinburgh manager comments on the monetary donations and time being
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43 committed from stakeholders, highlighting, *'Because we deliver and support these groups*
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45 *and engage with them, it has really brought everyone together. People are willing to help*
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47 *each other out whether it is time, money or a bit of support.'* Such findings correspond with
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49 stakeholder research which argues that, through immersion into managerial activities,
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51 stakeholder commitment can be heightened through feelings of community spirit and pride
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55 (Jimura, 2011; Pirson & Malhotra, 2011).
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The facilitators

Across each site, the WHS coordinator and/or dedicated site team were significant in engaging and building relationships with stakeholders. Focus on specific individuals or teams are currently overlooked within existing perspectives on stakeholder theory. Therefore, 'who' the people are that are engaging with the stakeholders is not given authority. Rather focus is one of the identifying strategies used by the organisations and their subsequent impact. Analysis of the site evidence suggests that this is an important omission when exploring stakeholder engagement. Managers found the presence of these figures essential given that the management structures to their sites consisted of representatives from various organisations who only met on an intermittent basis. Instead, these teams or the WHS coordinator were fulltime staff dedicated to WHS issues. In this study's cases, this would be the Antonine Wall Coordinator, the Derwent WHS team, and EWH. Each is regarded as essential in championing and delivering the management plan, a facilitator to relationship building, and directing communal action. For example one manager highlights the dedication of EWH, stating, *'They do an awful lot of work with so many people, their work has bound interest together, without them I don't think the commitment would be there.'*

Such views are also highlighted in the Derwent and Antonine Wall cases. As one Derwent manager states, *'[the Team] they do so much extra work, purely voluntarily and they're absolutely dedicated. It's that determination that's made this network of relationships happen and continue to function.'* Similar views are held at the Antonine Wall of the site coordinator. For example, one manager claims, *'[the coordinator] does so much*

work...without her and the amount of work she does there wouldn't be as much support and involvement, she brings everyone along and it's her passion that's the driving force.'

While studies reflect on the importance of managers as central figures in building relationships with stakeholders (Pirson & Malhotra, 2011), the action of these individuals highlights forms of ethical leadership (Caldwell et al., 2006) which is argued to be essential in developing followers among stakeholders (Hernandez, 2008). Furthermore, this finding adds to current studies of WHS management which despite highlighting the need for collective environments and stakeholder engagement (Aas et al., 2005; Nicholas et al., 2009) tend to provide little reflection on the role of the WHS coordinator or dedicated team.

Time and resources

While managers at Edinburgh and Derwent emphasise the benefits of engagement, Antonine Wall managers highlighted little perceived heightened stakeholder patronage beyond groups that had always been interested in the Wall. Concerns regarding money and time were stressed to be underlying factors. These issues affect the intensity of the levels of representation, marketing activities and support offered by site managers. Studies in heritage often comment on the financial challenges faced by managers (Garrod et al., 2011), however, existing perspectives on stakeholder theory predominately overlook the issue of money, apart from a few instances (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001). The findings of this study offer a more insightful perspective of the value of money as a means of enabling and preventing stakeholder engagement.

Given the size of the WHSs in this study and their myriads of stakeholders, substantial resources are required to enable effective engagement. However, the findings stressed that the turbulent economic environment, and reliance on public sector funding,

has acted as a barrier to engagement, especially in the Antonine case. For example, a lack of resources has meant that managers have been limited in their ability to engage stakeholders through more formal forms of representation or through supportive measures. As one Antonine manager stressed, *'You need to remember we are an under-resourced WHS...we had the financial crash and there's been very little resources to do anything.'*

This challenge not only highlights the problematic nature of the link between money and stakeholder theory, but it also unearths the issue of the differing levels managerial capabilities across the sites. While Edinburgh and Derwent have gained heightened stakeholder patronage through project working and support, the Antonine Wall cannot embrace or afford such intense and continual engagement. Unlike the Edinburgh and Derwent sites that are financed through their managerial groups, Antoine Wall managers are restricted in their managerial capabilities due to limited staff capacity and resources. This has ultimately influenced their potential to elevate stakeholder patronage. As one manager argued, *'The site is so large that it's difficult to develop relationships. We just don't have the staff capacity or financial means to undertake different engagement approaches.'* As a result, managers highlight levels of apprehension towards the management partners. Such difficulties are highlighted by similar studies which suggest that a lack of managerial support can lead to mistrust and a lack of faith in the organisations abilities and intensions (O'Connell, Stephens, Betz, Shepard, & Hendry, 2005).

Across the cases, the issue of time is an important factor in developing stakeholder relationships. Despite research promoting enduring strategies to garner stakeholder awareness and support (Jawahar & McLaughlin, 2001; Moriarty, 2012), the actuality of time is not fully alluded to as a significant barrier in the majority of studies. Both Edinburgh and

Derwent managers emphasise the importance of project working with stakeholders and reinforcing relationships and trust through continual events and informal meetings. In other words, managers' commitment to building relationships over time is essential. However, given that the Antonine Wall is dependent on a single WHS coordinator, time is a challenge.

Consequently, the Antonine Wall coordinator has limited time to develop strategies and engage with stakeholders on top of their administrative duties. Again this highlights the limited level of managerial capabilities in managing the Antonine Wall. In contrast to the Edinburgh and Derwent sites that have a dedicated WHS team, the Antonine Wall coordinator is generally restricted in their ability to effectively manage and engage with site interests. To compound this support is restricted from the fellow members of the management group. For example, one manager stated, *'There's a challenge of (of Local Authority members) finding time to engage with it...this is only maybe a fifteenth, twentieth of my work.'* Such an omission highlights the problematic nature of WHS management and managerial roles.

This finding could be grounded in the specific context of this research. For example, most stakeholder theory studies focus on corporate entities, usually formal organisations with contracted employees and many departments (Brower & Mahajan, 2012). This study focuses on sites managed by approaches where representatives from diverse bodies meet irregularly (Bell, 2013), with responsibility falling to a small site team or sole coordinator. Therefore, the site specific team is vital in engaging stakeholders, something the findings unearthed

These insights into time and resources uncover and highlight an important omission from much research on stakeholder theory. Existing literature on stakeholder theory

predominately overlooks perspectives on time and resources, especially financial. This appears surprising considering the implementation of engagement strategies to capture wider interests necessities varying amounts of resources and time. However, many studies within stakeholder theory are taken from organisations which are formally structured and have control over staff time and have access to specific resources. However, the World Heritage management situation highlights something very different. While there is an administrative structure in place, management is more fluid and there are severe restrictions on managers' availability and finances. Therefore, the WHS environment demonstrates how challenging the effectiveness of the theory is when funds and staff time is limited. Therefore, these elements should be given more credence in research.

Conclusion

This study sought to explore how World Heritage managers administer and attempt to generate stakeholder support and the extent of their success. Within WHS management the inclusion and support of site stakeholders is important (Nicholas et al., 2009), however the sheer size and multiple ownership patterns of some sites makes this challenging (Bell, 2013). Indeed, balancing diverging concerns is demanding for managers (Garriga, 2014; Polonsky & Ottman, 1998). This study explored three UK WHSs in order to provide a more in-depth investigation into such managerial challenges – Edinburgh's Old and New Towns, the Derwent Valley Mills, and the Antonine Wall. While each of these WHSs has a structured managerial approach in place, outside this there are numerous stakeholders who can influence management and the sites OUV. Across these sites, managers have highlighted the significance of stakeholders external to their management approach, emphasising their integral role in WHS administration (Millar, 2006; Xu & Dai, 2012).

Given the dearth of studies in this context which embrace some of the central theoretical lenses in management, and the lack of UK multiple case studies, this research has aimed to contribute to such limitations. Furthermore, given the financial climate in which heritage management is operating, stakeholder engagement and involvement has never been more significant. Overall, the importance of stakeholder engagement within WHS cannot be underestimated. As managers emphasised, the significance of engaging with differing interests, ranging from local communities, businesses and various public/private bodies is vital. Through employing strategies such as representation, raising awareness and support, managers have identified that commitment, trust and personal relationships have been built up within their stakeholder networks (Hernandez, 2008; McDonald, 2011). This has resulted in stakeholders committing time, money and resources to their WHS.

Important to this heightened level of patronage are strategies which involve participatory - rather than informative - approaches to engagement (Lask & Herold, 2004). In other words, giving stakeholders an active role in management through community led ventures or representative mechanisms which permit idea exchange and project development. For example, Edinburgh's graveyards project and the Derwent Valley's cluster groups both highlight examples of these. Significantly, these approaches allow for continual engagement, rather than ad-hoc attempts or isolated periods. Significantly, the findings of the research highlight an important factor which is largely omitted from current perspectives – the importance of 'who' is engaging the stakeholder. As the findings demonstrate, authors should not only carefully consider the strategies used to engage stakeholders, but should also place meaning on the identity of the manager or implementer. Across the sites the site dedicated staff (the Antonine Wall Coordinator, the Derwent WHS

team, and EWH) were all instrumental in managing and developing trust and personal relationship with site stakeholders.

However, despite some success, engagement has been challenging. This can be seen in the Antonine Wall and Edinburgh cases where trust and relationships can be damaged through lack of stakeholder representation and decision-making which overlooks the concerns of local communities (Haddad et al., 2009). Furthermore, while the Edinburgh and Derwent managers stress the success of stakeholder engagement, those at the Antonine Wall are less positive. The reasoning behind this could be the limited resources and staff capacity the Antonine Wall has in comparison with the other two sites. This has meant that the way in which managers engage with their stakeholders differs between the sites. For example, Edinburgh and Derwent have had the availability of funds to develop and execute various engagement strategies, especially ones that allow for active participation. However, the Antonine Wall's limited resources have created a barrier to the possibility of such strategies, especially supportive measures which are vital in gaining heightened levels of stakeholder participation. Secondly, the Antonine Wall is reliant on a single site coordinator, limiting the intensity of possible stakeholder engagement and subsequently patronage. Both the Edinburgh and Derwent sites both highlight the importance of dedicated teams in planning, developing and maintaining stakeholder relationships, something the Antonine Wall struggles to do.

Despite the importance of these two themes in this research, it is surprising that more studies have not endeavoured to make a more pronounced connection between stakeholder theory and resources and time. However, as the discussion argues, the significance of themes could be grounded in the context of this study. Typically, the

application of stakeholder theory is used to explore corporate bodies or more formalised managerial entities, instead the WHS environment offers an interesting and different situation where management and engagement is both limited by more ad-hoc forms of administration, manager availability and restricted funds.

Managerial implications

Through this study a number of managerial implications can be recognised. Firstly, given the value of participatory forms of engagement in nurturing support, managers should look to increase stakeholder-led projects. As The Heritage Lottery Fund (2010) argues, ‘community participation can involve a significant shift from providing activities for existing and potential audiences to involving them in the development of activities.’ The usefulness of Edinburgh’s graveyard projects in empowering stakeholders is testament to this. Managers could also introduce training schemes which result in a ‘WHS Steward’ recognition for local stakeholders who are involved in community-led projects. This could not only heighten the importance of collective management, but reinforce the significance of World Heritage through active responsibility in site administration. Such forms of engagement also offer potential marketing and promotional opportunities for site managers. For example, through information mechanisms, publicising such avenues could also be a crucial form of promotion for the benefits of the WHS, inspiring people to become more involved and aware of their surroundings. In enhancing engagement WHS managers across the UK could also create a national symposium which allows site stakeholders the opportunity to show case their own local heritage and success stories to others nationwide. This would not only spread the potency of World heritage but also allow for best practice to be shared across sites.

Managers should also look to increase stakeholder capabilities. Given that stakeholders have the ability to donate time and money this is essential. Although the Derwent site uses cluster groups to enhance representation, this is lacking at Edinburgh and the Antonine Wall. Therefore, stakeholder representation must be ingrained within WHS management structures through mechanism where views, ideas and concerns can be liberally exchanged. Given that the findings indicate that trustworthy and long-term relationships have been developed between managers and site stakeholders, these must be reinforced and maintained. Along with the cluster groups highlighted in the Derwent case, sites could also take advantage of the internet. For example, managers could offer an e-participation platform which can be used as an online forum where stakeholders could exchange concerns and ask questions (Lask & Herold, 2004). Furthermore, this could be used to disseminate information regarding the WHS in a more agreeable way. As such, this could enable enduring communication and cooperation between policy and decision makers, managers, and wider stakeholders.

In this research, managers also stress the importance of personal relationships with stakeholders and the need to maintain these. With this in mind, coupled with informational engagement, managers should perhaps organise and market monthly events which bring wider interests together to showcase and celebrate the accomplishments and potential of World Heritage. This could reinforce existing unions and certify that engagement is constant and devoted, as well as be a potential form of marketing which could be used to inspire other site stakeholders to become involved in the WHS context (Garrod et al., 2011, McDonald, 2011). For example, managers could use local community members and local community projects to develop promotion materials which could be used on social media to

promote the community and social benefits of involvement in WHS activities. Lastly, given the importance of the dedicated team or coordinator in developing stakeholder relationships, policy makers should be encouraged to ensure that sites are funded appropriately. Without adequate funding and staff capacity World Heritage and its value will be limited, while its aspiration of collective management and responsibility will be lost.

Limitations and future research

This study is not without its limitations. Firstly, only WHSs in the UK were explored. Therefore, due to different legislative procedures and cultural approaches to management worldwide, this study may be of restricted value to nations outside the UK. Therefore, future research may wish to explore cross-country compositions on how stakeholder engagement and support are recognised, and the perceived challenges. Secondly, this study was conducted over a 12 month period, restricting the data collection and findings to a fixed period. Future research may wish to conduct a longitudinal approach, and so, unearthing how engagement and relationships maintain or fade over time.

Thirdly, this study only gathered data from the perspective and experiences of managers and representatives from within each WHS’s management structure. Therefore, different findings may be unearthed if wider stakeholder views were taken into regard. As such, future studies could explore these views and contrast them to the sentiments of managers. Furthermore, given that different stakeholders may have different motivational factors and needs for involvement, future research may also explore the stimulus for participation in site activities. A deeper understanding of these influences may uncover factors which could attract disengaged interests or further reinforce existing relationships.

Given the importance of the WHS 'team' or coordinator, a future study may wish to undertake observational research of the interactions between managers and wider stakeholders at a given site or sites. Such a study would offer further insight into the relationships and discourse between managers and stakeholders. Such research could offer an opportunity to promote best practices between heritage sites in general. Furthermore, future research could also embark on a joint initiative between researchers, heritage managers and wider stakeholder groups. For example, the development of a local heritage initiative between these interests could bridge the gap between often fractured relationship between theory and practice in heritage management. With opportunities for Heritage Lottery funding in the UK for community heritage projects there is the potential action-research within the context.

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